

1973-1974 BROADCASTING



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SECRET

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BROADCASTING

wealth Office

V.1

MR. ARMSTRONG

c Mr Haydon

Thank you for your minute of 21st January about the Woodrow Wyatt television programme "Red under the Bed". A good deal of discreet help was given to Mr. Wyatt in preparing this programme.

I confirm that the new Unit is in being and is actively producing material. I attach a copy of the first version which was deliberately on the full side to provide the background about which the service will now develop. Use of the service is being kept under continual review between the Lord Privy Seal and Mr. Heron.

Prime Minister
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(John Hunt)

25th January, 1974

SECRET AND PERSONAL

SECRET AND PERSONAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

(OH 1/1/74)

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SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN INDUSTRY

1. The enclosed digest of published material is circulated on a personal basis to those named in the distribution list attached, in accordance with the Prime Minister's minute of 15 December to the Lord Privy Seal.
2. Future issues will be distributed to the same recipients under personal cover but without other classification, since the material is itself unclassified. The frequency of future issues will depend on the amount of published material available. Enquiries, either concerning the content or the distribution, may be addressed to the editor, Mr. I. Knight Smith, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Great George Street, London, S.W.1, telephone number 839-8866, Ext. 387.

Information Research Department

22 January 1974

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Subversive Influences in Industry

A digest compiled
from published sources

Number 1

January 1-19, 1974

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A. INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

1. The Communist Party

(a) In a Communist Party pamphlet, 'Smash Phase III', published on January 8, 1974, Bert Ramelson, Industrial Organiser of the Communist Party, stated:

"... Wage increases of at least 20 per cent are necessary to ensure that the real purchasing power of last year's settlements is maintained till the following year's claim. Further, it is high time to make an advance towards the 35 hour week and the achievement of equal pay now.

"Such demands cannot be met within the terms of Phase 3 ... Phase 3 must be smashed. It won't be easy but it can be done ...

"Phase 3 is part of the Counter-Inflation Act, which just like the Industrial Relations Act, is a class biased law imposed by a minority on the vast majority. No law which is a direct attack on the basic democratic rights of the people won in long and bitter struggle can be respected ...

"... Attacking workers' wages is so central to the Government's strategy, that its defeat on this issue by masses of workers could shatter the last traces of the Government's credibility so that its ability to govern would be seriously undermined. If that should happen there would hardly be any tears shed within the Labour movement or many other strata of the population. That is the price that any Government in a democracy has to pay if its policies collapse because they are rejected by the mass of the people and they lose all credibility ...

"... There are millions of workers with claims in, all of them in excess of the Government-dictated norm. The sooner they get involved in action in support of their claims the greater the chances of their own and everyone else's success. If that were to happen, the Tory calculation of defeating one section at a time would be turned against them; it would isolate the Government.

"It is a crying shame that when so many workers are involved in or are on the verge of struggle against a policy condemned by the TUC, the general council does nothing tangible to help them realize the TUC's own declared policy ..."

(b) In a report to the meeting of the executive committee of the Communist Party on January 13, 1974, Bert Ramelson, the Party's Industrial Organiser,

"... called for the mobilising of all resources to develop mass solidarity with the miners and all others in struggle and to get an emergency Trade Union Congress called to organise national industrial action to smash Phase 3. Prominent also in this campaign should be the aims of releasing the Shrewsbury 3 and defeating the government lockout - the three-day week.

"About the revival of the anti-Communist bogey, Mr Ramelson said that: 'Whenever the ruling class are faced with mass struggle and policies that threaten their rule they seek to destroy the movement by creating divisions, by attempting to isolate the Communists, precisely because they know the part Communists play in helping to develop the struggle for such policies' ...

"Miners never claimed to be a special case, Mr Ramelson said. Their case was that the Wilberforce gains had been eroded by massive inflation, and that went for all workers. 'The general council's resumption of discussions with Heath does harm in creating the impression that the government's tough tactics pay off, that the general council is weakening and that will encourage the government to be tougher still', he added. The government would now demand 'copper-bottomed guarantees' that the TUC will accept Phase 3 cuts in real wages and if it did not, would blame it for breakdown. In talking, the TUC had betrayed the congress mandate which was for 'total and complete rejection of Phase 3, restoration of free collective bargaining for all workers'. 'These talks must cease and an emergency congress be convened', demanded Mr Ramelson ...

"'Faced with the developing mass movement', said Mr Ramelson, 'the Tory government is ruthlessly pursuing its drive towards authoritarianism, aided and abetted by the mass media'. The use of the army at Heathrow was part of the scheme 'to condition the public to see the army in use in our cities. It could veil preparations for what they fear may be the successful development of the mass movement toward a general strike ...'"

(Morning Star January 14, 1974)

(c) At the TUC conference of trade union general secretaries and presidents in London on January 16, Eddie Marsden, general secretary of the Constructional Section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party,

"... said he had difficulty in accepting the TUC's report. He said it showed the failure of talks with the government, and at no stage had the government acted on views expressed by the TUC. He was also worried that there had been signs of a compromise being sought, in a situation where no compromise was possible. The best way to help the miners, he said, was to declare solidarity with them, and it was wrong for the TUC leaders to give the impression that other unions would accept Phase 3 if the government came to a settlement with the miners ... In his opinion the proposals for action in the document did not go far enough and the time had already come for a special congress to be called ..."

(Morning Star January 17, 1974)

2. The International Socialists

(a) An article in Socialist Worker organ of the International Socialists on the progress made by this movement in 1973 stated that,

"... the March conference pledged the organisation to concentrate its recruitment and its activity at the point of production: to build factory branches at the place of work by bringing together the socialists and militants into fully-fledged units of the organisation. Optimistically, we set a target of 10 factory branches by next conference ... Nine months later, we have 39 such branches, most of them in factory units ... The use of regular bulletins about conditions in the factory, and regular meetings to discuss strategy, have helped to pressure - and in some cases remove - existing right-wing trade union leadership in the factory ...

"During the year, 20 trade union fractions have been built up from almost nothing. There is now IS organisation in all the country's main unions. In the white collar unions, there have been some outstanding successes ... We cannot claim the same sort of successes in the large manual unions, where the immediate difficulties of organisation are more serious ...

"IS members have been involved in every major industrial dispute this year ..."

(Socialist Worker January 5, 1974)

(b) Tony Cliff, a leading member of the national committee of the International Socialists, wrote in Socialist Worker that,

"... In the face of the bankruptcy of the trade union leadership in the present crisis a new leadership - a rank and file leadership - has to be created. Across industry the hands of workers have to be clasped. The initiative taken by a number of rank and file papers - *The Collier*, *Nalgo Action News*, *Carworker*, *Steelworker*, *Post Office Worker* - to call a conference in Birmingham on March 30 is a step in the right direction. Above all, one must draw the correct political lesson. The struggle to defend our living standards, to defend our right to picket, our workplace organisation, is directed not only against the individual employer but - and above all - against the government. Workers' struggle must be a political struggle. To lead to a successful conclusion workers have to build - and urgently - a strong revolutionary socialist workers' party".

(Socialist Worker January 19, 1974)

3. The Workers' Revolutionary Party

A statement issued on January 4, by the political committee of the Workers' Revolutionary Party urged all trade unionists to:

"Occupy all factories threatened with closure and redundancies.

"Build a triple alliance of miners, railmen and engineers against Phase Three and the Tory government.

"Abolish the anti-union laws ...

"Build Councils of Action on a local, regional and national basis to organize the fight against the Tory government.

"Join the Workers' Revolutionary Party".

(Workers' Press, organ of the
Workers' Revolutionary Party,
January 5, 1974)

4. The International Marxist Group

Red Weekly, organ of the International Marxist Group, defined the central tasks of the period following the TUC conference of trade union presidents and general secretaries as to

"1. Build national strike action against Tory wage policy: especially by the miners, engineers and railmen;

2. Build a fighting alliance of miners, engineers and railmen at all levels;

3. Organise actions which will force the official trade union leadership either to end their collaboration with the Tory Government and take steps which aid the struggle, or to reveal their inability to combat the Tory offensive;

4. Establish Councils of Action representative of the whole labour movement in every area to coordinate the struggles against the Tory lock-out and prepare a united counter offensive;

5. Organise, out of all the current struggles in which workers are engaged, a general strike to bring down the Tory Government ..."'

(Red Weekly January 11, 1974)

B. THE TRADE UNIONS

1. General

- (a) In an article in The Times, Lord Chalfont stated:

"... The Communist Party of Great Britain, after 50 years of unremitting toil, has proved to be an almost total failure as a political organisation. ... In the trade unions, however, the picture is a different one. Through sheer hard work and organising ability, Communists or Communist sympathisers now control over 10 per cent of the important posts in the major industrial unions - a figure ludicrously disproportionate to their actual numbers. They are especially strong in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and increasingly so in the Transport and General Workers' Union. They virtually control the important Scottish and Welsh areas of the National Union of Mineworkers. No one should be in any doubt that the aims of the Communist Party's 'industrial' organisation are almost entirely political. The declared purpose is to gain control of the trade union movement and eventually of the Labour Party. ..."

(The Times January 11, 1974)

In reply, the Morning Star stated:

"... Chalfont is, of course, totally distorting the position of the Communist Party when he says that its purpose is 'to gain control of the trade union movement and eventually of the Labour Party'. The Communist Party wants to see the trade union movement democratically controlled by its members, and carrying out the functions for which it was created. That is why Communists have opposed attempts by all governments, Tory or Labour, to interfere in trade union affairs and take away trade union rights. ..."

(Morning Star January 12, 1974)

- (b) In an article "Reds under the Bed?" which appeared in New Society, Robert Taylor wrote:

"... The professional Communist watchers can discover plenty of comrades in the trade union ranks today. It is estimated that ten per cent of officials in the trade union movement are card carriers. There are six on the 27 strong mineworkers' executive. The new president of the raildrivers' union (ASLEF) is a Communist. There are said to be four party members on the executives of the railwaymen's and the post office workers' union. The president of the National Union of Teachers is a Communist. There are a sprinkling of party members among the civil service unions, though the ultra left have made inroads there. The construction workers' union (UCATT) has two Communists on its executive. In 1968, the Transport and General Workers' Union lifted the ban on party members holding office in the union. It is claimed that ten of their

38-strong executive are Communists, but the body meets only quarterly and has little power. The electricians are the only union which bans party members from holding office in the union. An attempt to change that at the last rules revision conference was heavily defeated.

"Communists are most numerous in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. Since Hugh Scanlon became president with party backing, some of the restraints on shopfloor activity have been lifted. There is only one known Communist on the engineers' executive, although Reg Birch, an ex-party member, is now a Maoist in the Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist). The Communists can reckon to elect 15 of the 52 members to the union's delegate conference. It is said that one in 30 of the union's 30,000 shop stewards are party members. ..."

"The party does not see action on the shopfloor as an end in itself. Communists believe it is a way of putting pressure on trade union leaders and making them follow policies that reflect the interests and demands of the rank and file. The party is not against leadership. 'Even a rightwing leadership is not the enemy, if it bows to the constant upward flow of pressure', says Ramelson. As Communist control has slackened, the party's influence has grown. But it remains unclear who is being absorbed by whom in the Labour movement. In practice, the party is unwilling to throw away its gain through impetuous, illconceived adventures. Communists do not shout 'general strike'. They believe ultras put all leadership in question and that this only attracts immature young people who like shouting revolutionary slogans. ..."

(New Society January 17, 1974)

(c) An Economist "Business Brief" on 'Who Runs the Unions?' stated:

"... The Communists' greatest strength is at shop steward level. Communist stewards control British Leyland's Longbridge plant (Mr Dick Etheridge); Chrysler's Ryton plant (Mr Jock Gibson); Govan Shipbuilders (Mr Jimmy Reid) and, until recently, the London docks (Mr Bernie Steer). They are also well established in engineering, printing, building and mining. Their efforts are co-ordinated by the party's full-time industrial organiser, Mr Bert Ramelson, and three other full-time organisers. The Communists do not hold a majority in any union except the miners' Scottish branch, but rely on the support of the many sympathetic Marxists whose power has increased in the past decade. A look at the top dozen unions, which between them account for two-thirds of union membership, gives a fair idea of the Communists' influence. ..."

The colour of union politics

Twelve largest unions	General secretary	Members (000s)	Political leaning	Latest election swing	Executive size	Commun- ists†
Transport and General Engineers	Jack Jones Hugh Scanlon	1,747 1,338	Far left Far left	Left No change	35 13	10 3
General and Municipal National and Local Government	David Basnett Geoffrey Drain	848	Centre	Slightly left	10	—
Public employees	Alan Fisher	500	Centre*	Slightly left	65	?
Electricians	Frank Chapple	464	Left	No change	16	?
Shopworkers	Alf Allen	417	Right	Left	14	—
Managerial staff	Clive Jenkins	325	Centre	Right	16	4
Teachers	Ted Britton	280	Left	Left	23	7
Miners	Lawrence Daly	273	Centre*	No change	43	3
Builders	George Smith	271	Left	Left	27	6
Civil servants	Bill Kendall	208	Left*	Left	13	3
Postmen	Tom Jackson	191	Right	No change	29	—
					31	5

*Not affiliated to Labour party

†Estimate; most unions won't say. Does not include other marxists or fellow-travellers.

(The Economist January 19, 1974)

2. THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS

(a) In an article on "The Miners and the Crisis", Michael McGahey, Vice-president of the National Union of Mineworkers and a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party, stated:

"... The crisis we experience is one of the system, and therefore the question of a radical change in society is now on the agenda. None of us should shirk this question; the present crisis-ridden system means that periodically we face mass unemployment and continuous struggle to maintain living standards. It is not the responsibility of the labour and trade union movement to solve the problems of capitalism; it is the duty of the movement to create the conditions for ending a system that has proved unworkable. ..."

"The crisis in Britain and other capitalist countries stands out in glaring contrast to the advances in the socialist sector of the world. ..."

"In the Soviet Union and other coal-producing countries in the socialist world miners are the highest-paid industrial workers. Their mining industries are expanding with no threat to job security. Yet in the last 25 years in Britain we have seen the mining industry contract from a manpower of 700,000 till now we barely hold the figure of 260,000."

"... The miners are determined to end this situation, and that determination grows with each passing day; all the threats and intimidation of the Press and the government will in no way weaken the struggle. Therefore, in alliance with the engineers, locomen and others, the miners will remain united and are determined to burst through Phase Three.

"Let the leadership of the labour and trade union movement respond, and Heath can be forced to go. ..."

(Labour Monthly January, 1974)

(b) In a series of articles about the National Executive of the National Union of Mineworkers, Paul Routledge, Labour Correspondent of The Times, stated:

"... The leading figure of the six Communists on the executive is Mr Michael McGahey, at 48 the union's national Vice-President and Scottish President. ... Mr McGahey is a member of the Communist Party national executive and more importantly the 'inner circle' political committee. Strategy is his business, and he makes no bones about it in public, calling for the overthrow of the present government by concerted political and industrial action. ..."

"The Communists make up a recognizable political faction, but they are not a simple monolithic block. They can and do split when votes are taken on the executive, particularly if it is a coalfield issue. And there are hawks among them, notably Mr Whelan and Mr Collins. However, on the basic direction of policy, they are united, and Mr McGahey speaks

for them all: 'I see no conflict in my role as a Communist and my role as a trade union leader, to put into practice the aim and objective of the NUM, which is the complete abolition of capitalism. We must dispense with antiques. Capitalism is an antiquated system that should be confined to the dustbin of society, and a new society created. That society will be created in our own British way, through the parliamentary machine'. ...

"The first thing to remark about the Labour-left group on the miners' union executive is that it is a relatively new phenomenon, at least in its present size. None of the five left-wingers who regularly line up the Communist block was on the executive before 1971, and three of them were elected only last year. ...

"Just as the Communists have a naturally outstanding figure in Mr Michael McGahey, so does the Labour-left; Mr Arthur Scargill, a 35-year-old Marxist who captured the leadership of Yorkshire, the biggest coalfield, last year. ... Mr Scargill joined the Young Communist League as a teenager, and became Yorkshire chairman of the organisation, sitting also on its national executive alongside Mr Jimmy Reid, whose name was later to crop up on Clydeside. He held a CP card for several years, but describes himself as 'never a very active member'. After some deep-seated political differences with the Communist Party, he left in 1962. ... Describing himself as 'the hardest of the hard-liners' on the executive, Mr Scargill puts the Labour-left view that the union should be 'moving towards strike action'. Scarcely able to conceal his delight that the 'waiting time' negotiations device has proved a fruitless exercise, he adds: 'I believe that the talks should never have been held. You don't talk to people who are not prepared to offer anything. ...' ..."

(The Times January 3 and 4, 1974)

(c) During a recent visit to Moscow Leslie Dixon, a Communist member of the executive council of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, stated in an interview with Moscow Radio,

"... It is also correct to say that in a recent dispute in Great Britain in which our mine working industry was involved, the Soviet trade unions made a substantial contribution to their dispute fund in order to alleviate hardships of the workers involved in that particular dispute. There are other instances which I can't call to mind just now, but these are good examples of solidarity and exchanges of greetings and support between our two great countries".

(Moscow Radio in English for Great Britain and Ireland
January 12, 1974)

Lawrence Daly, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, was quoted as saying on January 17,

"... Mr Dixon is quite wrong. We have checked our records and there was no financial contribution made to us by Soviet trade unionists during the 1972 national strike. ... There is also no question of any financial help being given to us by Soviet unions during the present dispute".

(The Daily Telegraph
January 18, 1974)

3. Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen

In an article on ASLEF in The Times, Alan Hamilton stated:

"... Broadly the executive divides into moderate and left-wing camps, but such political divisions are much less relevant in the small body than they are, for example, on the executive of the National Union of Mineworkers. ..."

"The current president of the union is a Communist Party member from Sheffield, Mr Bill Ronksley. ..."

"The balance changed at the end of last year when Mr Bill Williams, the Southern Region representative, retired, and was replaced by Mr Derek Fullick, the former local secretary at Waterloo. ..."

"Mr Fullick... is in the militant camp. Other left-wingers are the Vice-President Mr Terry Clarke, from Cheshire, who proposed Mr Ronksley for President, Mr Les Johnston from Liverpool, and a newcomer Mr Charlie Rodger from Scotland. ..."

(The Times January 18, 1974)

4. Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians

"Communist influence in the national executive of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians has been strengthened by the election to the executive of Mr Arthur Utting.

"Mr Utting, until now Vice-Chairman of the union's eastern regional council, becomes the first Communist Party member to be elected to the executive since it was formed by amalgamation of building industry unions three years ago.

"He joins two other Communists on the executive who held their positions before the amalgamation. ..."

(The Times January 15, 1974)

Transport and General Workers' Union

- (a) "Increasing militancy among building workers was reflected yesterday in the election of left-winger Mr Jim Shepherd to the executive of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Mr Shepherd, who comes from Liverpool, was elected by the TGWU national building group as its representative on the executive. He is a prominent member of the Building Workers' Charter movement in Liverpool".

(Morning Star January
9, 1974)

- (b) "A further victory for the left wing in the trade union movement has been chalked up with the election of Mr Sid Easton ... to the executive council of the Transport and General Workers' Union. He was returned to the executive after being off for one term. With him, to represent the greater London area of the union's giant number one region, is Mr Brian Nicholson, who was re-elected. The executive seat for the outer part of the region has again gone to another left-winger, Morrie Campbell, a lorry driver. ..."

(Morning Star January 14,
1974)

- (c) "The left wing group on Scotland's representation on the national executive council of the Transport and General Workers' Union has been maintained in recent elections. The two existing members, Mr Vic Selway, a member of the Communist Party, and Mr Dan Duffy, a left-winger, were both re-elected. Another left-winger, Mr Thomas Duffy, was elected to a newly-created third seat for Scotland. In the Midlands, three new members have been elected to the national executive, although there has been little change in the political make-up of the representation. ..."

(Financial Times January
18, 1974)

6. Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers

"The case of alleged ballot-rigging at the East Kilbride No 3 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers last autumn was the subject of a Thames Television programme screened last night ... The AUEW, as reported in the Financial Times last November, sent a man to investigate the case. Presented with evidence of forgery, the national executive declared invalid the election of Mr James Callan, a Communist, as Scottish representative on the union's final appeals court. It also voted against disciplining any branch officials who might have been responsible, despite a move to do so by Mr John Boyd, Scottish executive member ..."

(Financial Times January 18, 1974)

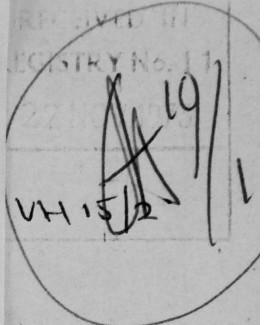
7. Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union

"The recent election of Left-winger Mr Hector Barlow, of Dundee, to the national executive of the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union has been declared null and void. Mr Barlow defeated Mr J Gaffney, an EPTU full-time official, by the slim majority of 79 votes to win a seat on the executive as the plumbers' representative for Scotland and Ireland. But the result has now been overturned by the EPTU executive because of complaints of 'irregularities' from members in the Irish Republic ... Two other Left-wingers who were elected at the same time last year, Mr Phil Ramshaw and Mr Harold Best, will be taking their seats on the union's executive this month".

(Financial Times January 18, 1974)



Sir *broadcasting*
10 Downing Street
Whitehall



Red under the Bed
Wednesday, 13 November
correspondence

SIR JOHN HUNT

Copy to: Mr. Haydon.

The Prime Minister has seen the transcript of Woodrow Wyatt's television programme 'Red under the Bed'.

He has commented that we want as much as possible of this sort of thing.

He hopes that the new Unit is now in being and actively producing.

R. T. ARMSTRONG

21 January 1974

CONFIDENTIAL

4. To balance this, Mr. Wyatt was asked by some of the regional contractors (eg in the Midlands and the North) to take part in a special discussion programme, shown after the main film, with the Rt. Hon. Barbara Castle MP, Mr. Geoffrey Stewart-Smith MP and Mr. Alan F... general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees. In this I understand he was able to make many of the points excised from the

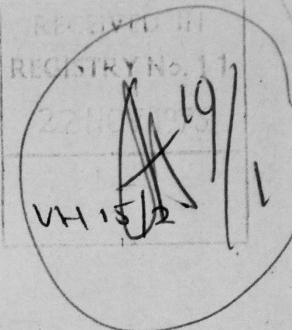
10 Downing Street
Whitehall

Prime Minister

You may like to
glance through his
manuscript of Woodrow
Wyatt's "Red under
the Bed" TV
programme.

SECRET

Well done it
After I.R.D.P.



att's television programme, 'Red under the Bed' was shown on commercial television on Tuesday, 13 November. I enclose some of the comments and correspondence

but considerable hand in this programme. For instance, Mr. Connell, programme planner of Anglia TV, had feature himself but was never able to get it made. This year he commissioned Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, an active journalist with whom we have been in touch to make it. In February Mr. Wyatt approached us and consulted the Department of Employment and the Home Office. Mr. Conrad Heron's group, which has been working with us fortnightly for the past year. With their agreement, we have prepared a large dossier of our own background material. There is evidence in the programme that he drew on our material. There is no doubt, for instance, that he drew on our material to good effect. Simultaneously he approached us after old and trusted contact of ours, Mr. McKeown, of Information Services Limited (IRIS), and used his resources but used him as one of the principal sources of information in the programme itself.

This was a hard-hitting, interesting and effective programme. It used Trotskyist techniques of industrial subversion to convey a clear and powerful message, that the CPGB's main aim is to win over the working class to the party by fair means or foul - an opinion which is likely to offend the Independent Broadcasting Authority, as they interpret the Statute by which they are prevented from showing the film. (A statement of opinion held up the showing of the film for a week, as a concession made for networking on 1 May last), enraged the IBA and caused the IBA to make cuts in his commentary which made the ending of the film rather formless.

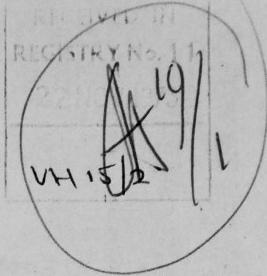
4. To balance this, Mr. Wyatt was asked by some of the regional contractors (eg in the Midlands and the North) to take part in a special discussion programme, shown after the main film, with the Rt. Hon. Barbara Castle MP, Mr. Geoffrey Stewart-Smith MP and Mr. Alan F. Farnham, general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees. In this programme I understand he was able to make many of the points excised from the

SECRET

Mr Reddaway

'RED UNDER THE BED'

Well done Mr
Anglia I.R.D.P.



1. Mr. Woodrow Wyatt's television programme, 'Red under the Bed', was shown nationally on commercial television on Tuesday, 13 November, at 10.30 p.m. I attach some of the comments and correspondence which it provoked.

2. We had a discreet but considerable hand in this programme. For some years, Mr. Brian Connell, programme planner of Anglia TV, had hoped to make some such feature himself but was never able to get it off the ground. Early this year he commissioned Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, the former Labour MP and active journalist with whom we have been in close touch since 1956, to make it. In February Mr. Wyatt approached us direct for help. We consulted the Department of Employment and the Security Service through Mr. Conrad Heron's group, which has been meeting approximately fortnightly for the past year. With their agreement, Mr. Wyatt was given a large dossier of our own background material. It is clear from internal evidence in the programme that he drew extensively on this; there is no doubt, for instance, that he drew on our paper on 'Violent Picketing' to good effect. Simultaneously he approached of his own accord another old and trusted contact of ours, Mr. McKeown of Industrial Research and Information Services Limited (IRIS), and not only drew heavily on his resources but used him as one of the principal witnesses in the programme itself.

Flag A
VK 18(1) 1973

Flag B
VK 15/2 20

3. In our estimation this was a hard-hitting, interesting and effective exposure of Communist and Trotskyist techniques of industrial subversion. But Mr. Wyatt's concluding message, that the CPGB's main aim is to take over the Labour Party by fair means or foul - an opinion which is almost incontrovertible - offended the Independent Broadcasting Authority's standards of objectivity, as they interpret the Statute by which they operate. This difference of opinion held up the showing of the film for some months (it had been made for networking on 1 May last), enraged Mr. Wyatt and caused the IBA to make cuts in his commentary which left the ending of the film rather formless.

4. To balance this, Mr. Wyatt was asked by some of the regional contractors (eg in the Midlands and the North) to take part in a special discussion programme, shown after the main film, with the Rt. Hon. Barbara Castle MP, Mr. Geoffrey Stewart-Smith MP and Mr. Alan Fisher, general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees. In this I understand he was able to make many of the points excised from the film.

/We

SECRET

We are obtaining transcripts. Moreover, the difference of opinion with IBA produced additional publicity both for the programme and for Mr. Wyatt's central thesis, as the attached press cuttings show.

5. In general, this film, given national networking, can only have done good. It is especially a feather in the cap of the modest but well-informed, and effective, anti-Communist organisation IRIS. It is, for instance, worth noting that the News of the World reporter who figured prominently in the programme as a witness of violent picketing had been originally brought to Mr. Wyatt's attention by IRIS and ourselves, and that the newspaper series to which he had contributed in 1972 had been completed with the active help of IRIS in the first place. The programme has already stung the CPGB's industrial organiser into writing, not very effectively, to The Times; the correspondence continues in today's Times with Mr. Wyatt's effective reply, for which we supplied quotations from the late Mr. Justice Wynn's celebrated judgment in the ETU case; and with another good letter from Thames Television, who we understand now hope to make a film investigation themselves into current electoral malpractices in the AEUW, first revealed in last week's Economist through IRIS's instigation.

6. Sir J. Rennie may care to see.



T C Barker
IRD G 3/3

21 November 1973

Report No.....COM.100.

Transmitted on.....Thames..Television.....

Length.....60..mins Date.....13th..November,1973..... Time....10..30.p.m.

Short Title....."Reds..Under..the..Bed!".....

Voice: Peace is an abnormal situation in a capitalist society, in a class-divided society, it can only exist for a short period of time.

(Film)

Mr. Frank Chapple: The Communists see the trade unions as the means of changing society and they understand that he who controls the trade union movement has the powers to change governments.

Voice: The working-class is going to overthrow the capitalist state, tackle all the various moves, violent attacks, manoeuvres, frauds, tricks that are played by the mass media, by Parliament, by the various other riff-raff that leads capitalist society today.

Voice: Smash reformism and social democracy, bring down the Tory Government, prepare for a general strike, Labour take the power, get your copy of "Charter", Special General Strike issue, only fourpence.

Voice: I don't believe there is anything to be afraid of - it isn't a question of whether the Communists get power or not. This "Reds under the Bed" scare, to me, I think it is something which if we aren't careful we can get scared about when it isn't there.

Woodrow Wyatt: Is that all sound and fury signifying nothin', or does it mean something? Are the Communists and their allies - Reds under the bed - threatening the way we live now? Ever since Lenin, the Communists have known that there's only one way they can get power in Britain, through the trade unions. Every time they've tried to win Parliamentary elections, they've been hopelessly defeated.

Everyone has the right to be a Communist, everyone else has the right to know what the Communists are up to. What I am trying to find out is whether the Communists are still obeying Lenin's instruction to agree to all and any sacrifice and even if need be to resort to all sorts of stratagems, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions and to remain in them, carrying on Communist activities inside them at all costs.

Mr. Bert Ramelson: Our long-term objective has been ascribed in the rule book of the Communist Party and the programmes that we have been publishing ever since we came into existence fifty years ago or so. And that is to transform capitalism into a socialist society, to create a system of society in which we had a rational application of the natural resources and labour in order to produce, not for someone's profit, but in order to produce to satisfy the ever-growing needs of the people.

Mr. Frank Chapple: A Communist to be a card-holding member, and supporter of the Communist Party policies, has to be completely cynical about the individual aims and ambitions of ordinary people at any point in time, because his purpose is to transform society and that often means walking on the ordinary people who live in that society.

Mr. McKeown: The Communist Party aims at the overthrow of society, aims at in effect a revolution, whereas the vast majority of the ordinary trade unionists and workers of this country have put their whole allegiance and support to the Labour Party, which is not aimed at the overthrow of society, which is not aimed at revolution.

Lord Robens: They've utterly failed to be able to persuade the mass of the people of this country to communism in the ballot, either at local elections or national elections. They, therefore, moved into the trade union movement where it was

much easier with a splendid sale organisation and where the bulk of the members never go to a members' meeting, to be able by delegated democracy to be able to get fifty people to vote in favour of a resolution that can compel two thousand people to enter into an industrial dispute.

W. Wyatt: When did you last go to a branch meeting?

1st Union Member: Oh, I've never been to one, I don't think.

W. Wyatt: How often do you go to a branch meeting?

2nd Member: Not a lot.

W. Wyatt: Can you remember when you last went to one?

2nd Member: Not really, no.

W. Wyatt: When did you last go to a branch meeting?

3rd Member: Some time ago.

W. Wyatt: Two years ago?

3rd Member: Much longer than that.

W. Wyatt: How many years ago?

3rd Member: I'm not a militant member.

W. Wyatt: How often do you go to a branch meeting?

4th Member: Very rarely.

5th Member: Branch meeting? Oh, I've never been to a branch meeting.

W. Wyatt: How long have you been in the union?

6th Member: In this one - four years. We should go - it shows a lack of irresponsibility really. I mean in our own interests we should attend, but we don't.

W. Wyatt: Well, why don't you ever want to go to one?

6th Member: Well, it's inconvenient.

W. Wyatt: Do you think there's any danger that the militants might want to do more extreme things than you wish?

7th Member: No, I don't think so. I think the man on the shopfloor is too sensible for that, he'll only be led up to a point, I believe.

Mr. McKeown: The object of the Communist Party in the unions has always been the same, no matter how much they tried to disguise it. They want control.

Mr. Ramelson: I, as a member of the Communist Party, have consistently argued that the only way in which it'll be possible to force the Heath Government to retreat from their attack upon the trade unions and in their effort to lower the living standards of the people, is not by pleading with them, but by showing determination and a readiness to use industrial action.

Mr. McKeown: They know that they cannot get control without the support and backing of a lot of non-Communists and, therefore, they will fall over backwards to maintain this support and backing but once they do get control, whether in a union, in a branch, in a factory, they'll make certain that there's no opposition to it, the opposition will be eliminated like it was in the E.T.U.

W. Wyatt: In the Lord Chief Justice's Court behind me on 28th June, 1961, after a six weeks' trial, Mr. Justice Winn delivered a remarkable judgment. He said that by cooking the vote, the Communists in control of the E.T.U. had made it look as though Frank Hacksell had won the election for the General Secretary in 1959, in fact it was non-Communist Jock Byrne who'd been elected. The Judge found that the Communists had held control of the E.T.U. for many years by deliberate falsification of the votes of ordinary members. He found too that the Communists had manipulated the affairs of the E.T.U. in the interests of the Communist Party.

Mr. Chapple: First of all there were false returns at local level in the ballot, when Communists, local Communist officials were unable to fill in enough ballot papers for them to win an election, then they re-routed the opposition's ballot returns

and so they were able to rule them out under the Union's rules, because they then arrived late. They also then counted them and made whatever changes in the final list that they could make within Head Office, so that it was by retaining the machinery that they were able to hold on and extend their power. There was then no stopping them. I don't know of a single non-communist who beat the machine until this Court case.

W. Wyatt: Is that just something from the past, or is the menace still there? Do the gentlemen here in King Street in the Communist Party headquarters have more power than the rank and file union members realise, or want them to have?

Mr. Chapple: The Communist Party's influence in the trade union movement is far beyond its size and its political influence in the country.

Mr. Ramelson: Because the trade unionists have realised in practice that the Communist Party has no ulterior motives, that its aim and objective is the interest of the workers.

Mr. Chapple: Every Communist, if he's a member of a trade union, is registered, he doesn't just fill in a form to say what his name and address is, he says where he works and what union he belongs to. So they have a catalogue of the trade unions their members belong to and a careful list is kept of these, of the industrial organiser who from time to time calls meetings and so that's their organisation taken care of, but the trade union organisation is a semi-secret organisation, that is to say even if you're a member, if you don't go to a branch meeting, you don't know actually what's taking place at a branch meeting and the Communist Party's secret organisation of its own members within the union, fits like a hand into a glove.

Lord Robens: They have these advisory councils or advisory committees and so before there is any annual delegate meeting of a union that matters, the advisory council meets, they produce a kind of resolution, it is whipped round to all the branches. When I was a national official I used to receive resolutions coming from branches miles and miles apart, all couched in identical terms, all covering the same subject from the same people that I knew were the Communists and the left-wing activists. And this is organised.

Mr. Chapple: That's how the Communist Party's influence is greater, or manages to be greater than that of ordinary members because they're organised, it's a State within a State.

Mr. John Boyd: With the result there are many people who take all their inspirations from the Communist or Trotsky stables, but they can still claim to be members of the Labour Party and so in an election address they appear to be quite attractive to the people who don't know them and so they get voted.

Mr. Chapple: They're at about the strongest they've ever been in the trade union movement, in fact that's their boast anywhere, that they are stronger now than they have ever been.

Voice: Amongst the full-time officials of this Engineering Section of the A.E.U.W., there's about 175 full-time officials, of these our estimate is that 40, round about 40, are actual card-holding members of the Party, there's another 35 to 40 who have been elected with their support and would invariably support them. On the policy-making body of the union, the National Committee, out of the 52 members there's always a minimum of 12, a maximum of 40 card-holding members of the Party. There's a number of others who would invariably support them.

Mr. Chapple: So that what you'll find is on Executive Committees of unions there may not be a majority of Communists, but there will be - if there are any Communists at all - the pressure that they will be putting upon their leadership will be that which is laid down by King Street.

Voice: The Transport and General Workers is much more difficult, it's only a limited number of years now, about - what? - four or five years since the ban on Communists holding office in the union was lifted and ... but already in this short period, there's been considerable Communist infiltration into this union and on the Executive of the Transport and General there's about 36 members on the Executive, one could calculate between 12 and 15 who are either Communists or would support the Communist Party line.

Mr. Chapple: And that is really their position and the problem is that if they were a genuine reflection of the feelings of the rank and file members of unions, I mean if the rank and file members of unions were really left-wing Socialists and in their disposition, or in their political thinking, I'd have no objection to it. The facts are that their positions of power are gained through subterfuge and they are hell bent on creating circumstances in which what the ordinary people want will not work, all these people that don't want to stop the system functioning.

W. Wyatt: You can't say Communists aren't dedicated to what they believe in. It's because they work so hard that many workers trust them. Here's Dick Atheridge, a member of the Communist Party Executive and senior convener of shop stewards at the British Leyland factory at Longbridge. He could earn a lot more but he takes the ordinary average wage for sorting out the problems the men and women on the shopfloor bring to him. As a troubleshooter he's as useful to the management as he is to the union members.

Mr. Sidney Jacobsen: I think basically they get into a position of power in the union because they organise among themselves, because the average trade union member doesn't participate in the affairs of his union enough, therefore these people who are prepared to stay late at meetings, to attend committee meetings, to get themselves elected and to do the work, do get elected.

Voice: The modern leader is increasingly under pressure from activists and militants in the union, because it's only the activists and the militants that play an active part in the unions. (Film of demonstration)

W. Wyatt: Halesowen Labour Club, Worcestershire. Union branch meetings take place in clubs like this all over the country. Tonight it's the turn of the A.E.U., the attendance is fairly typical.

Chairman at meeting: Well, brothers, the agenda for tonight is as follows: first the minutes, then correspondence, then other information - Brother Davis, the prospective Labour candidate will attend the branch meeting on 10th April. Cash Book, 6th statement, Trades Council report, the District Delegates' Report and any other business.

W. Wyatt: It's easy to see why people don't bother to go to trade union branch meetings, they're so damned boring! So of course they're willing to hand over monotonous routine jobs if the Communists are prepared to do them, so here's Dick Atheridge once more. In his spare time he's also Chairman of this local A.E.U. branch, at it again.

(Film of Mr. Atheridge addressing meeting)

Every time they see a chance the Communists work up a grievance. They engineered the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions to push the T.U.C. and the unions into one-day strikes and protests.

Mr. Chapple: It's actually a committee for the destruction of democratic trade unions, is run by two men by the name of Hillies and Halpin who are both Communist Party members, in fact Halpin was a full-time District Organiser for the Communist Party.

Mr. Kevin Halpin: The Liaison Committee is not a Communist organisation.

W. Wyatt: Except it has a Communist Chairman, yourself, and a Communist Secretary.

Mr. Halpin: Oh yes, yes, but the other people in it are of any political Party or no political Party.

Mr. Chapple: They've been boasting about their success. First of all in defeating Barbara Castle's Industrial Relations Act and the number of stoppages they managed to get going at that period and about all the actions that have taken place over the Industrial Relations Act since.

Mr. Jacobsen: The Industrial Relations Act, which has given rise to such a display of bitterness, I don't believe it's as genuine as it's pretended to be. The Industrial Relations Act is to most people a very sensible sort of Act and many people would say that it imposes more restrictions on the employer than it does on the unions.

Mr. Jimmy Reid: When people talk about a law, they shouldn't think of it as a divine law. After all it's a law that comes from political attitudes, from political policy decisions and, therefore, there's nothing divine about it, there's nothing sacred about the law.

Mr. Jacobsen: You'll notice that in their criticisms of the Act they very seldom get down to detailed points. They are really protesting against the fact that they are being subjected to the law, whereas in the past they've had almost complete freedom from legal restraint. It's just a general assertion that this is outrageous legislation, but they very seldom say in

what respect it's outrageous.

Mr. Halpin: The Liaison Committee wants to have a position where the trade union movement's free to negotiate and bargain as it always has done in this country and that's where we stand and that's the limited aims of the Liaison Committee.

W. Wyatt: But it also reserves the right to choose which laws it will obey, does it not?

Mr. Halpin: It reserves the right to agitate against certain laws if they don't think it's in the interests of the trade union movement of course.

Mr. Jacobsen: You can't really have democratic government if every group of self-interested people decide something by vote and then say - 'well, we're entitled to this because it was a conclusion arrived at democratically by our members'. You can't have democracy within democracy within democracy.

Mr. Halpin: I mean if the trade union movement have had a position where, shall we say, if it carried out the laws of this country, we'd never have a trade union movement at all during the Combination Act in the 19th century. You've always got to have a position where people will fight against the laws if they're not in the interests of people.

Mr. Alfred Allen: I do not believe that any individual, or group of individuals, coming together as a trade union or else, can hope to overthrow the law, if you do then you will have an unlawful society and almost an anarchaic society.

Mr. Reid: We're prepared to fight a Labour Government on this, we're prepared to fight a Tory Government we're prepared to fight any Government, where the hard won rights of the working-class are threatened and endangered.

W. Wyatt: In the good old days of ten years ago, we lost

less than two million working days through strikes. Five years later the number had more than doubled, but it was in 1970 that we really took off, then we lost nearly eleven million days. In 1971 the figure had gone up to thirteen and a half million days. In 1972 we lost nearly twenty-four million working days through strikes. Why are we so much quicker to go on strike these days?

Mr. Paul Ferris: People are more bloody-minded, people are more militant in their social attitudes in general. This comes out in an increasing willingness to strike.

Mr. Alfred Allen: Well, I don't think anyone in a free society can avoid strikes. I think that's one of the freedoms we have in this country, but I couple 'freedom', the right to strike with 'responsibility' as well.

Mr. Ferris: Then one's got people's appetite for things, I suppose. You know, we live in a consumer society, we've all been beaten over the head for years with advertising, television advertising, magazines, newspapers, hoardings, we're told that there is a good life, a specific good material life, that these are all things that we not only can have but almost should have.

Mr. Atheridge: So far as I'm concerned at this moment in time, I see strikes as the basis for our struggle to get fair equitable shares of whatever's going in the country.

Mr. Lewis: I believe as far as the British working-class is concerned, it is the only weapon he has.

Lord Robens: I don't think there is any doubt that the penalties for going on strike today are nothing like the penalties that were experienced in the thirties. After all if you go on strike today, in the first week you get the week's pay that had been held back and you get the return of any income

tax that is due to you, so you get more money in the first week of a strike than you did in the last week of working.

Mr. Ferris: If one goes back to strikes, say, before the First World War, you had a society where children died of starvation and you can find newspaper reports into the early days of the century where children, where the inquest verdict was simply starvation, a baby would die because there wasn't enough food. Well, any man who was in a position to strike would think several times before condemning his child to death. No man by striking nowadays condemns his child to death.

Mr. Chapple: The Communist Party doesn't state its political aims and objectives every time its leading members lead the workers out on strike. What they tell the workers they're striking about is to get more money from these bosses who are making a lot of profit. It's 'these so-and-so Tories that we're all against', and ... whatever it is, whatever local situation, wherever there's troubled water they fish in it, but they fish in it not to help the local situation, but in order to strengthen their political position and, as I say, to drive another nail into the coffin of capitalism.

Lord Robens: I think they do an enormous amount of harm because in my experience there are a very large number of disputes and grievances between management and men which could be settled intelligently round a table, but the Communists and the left-wingers tend to seize on these grievances and turn them into industrial disputes, strikes, go-slows, overtime bans and things of that kind.

Mr. Chapple: They would not be able to do it if there were not genuine grievances and it's very difficult to conceive a society in which there would not be genuine difficulties.

Mr. Boyd: You see, a person who is a Communist or a Trotskyist is a first-class opportunist and so whenever they see any legitimate claims being advanced, they're the first to hop on to the bandwagon and so frequently they're fighting good issues and thus they gain the confidence of the mass of the members.

Mr. Ramelson: Quite often you can avoid a strike if you're ready to participate in a strike, without that sort of participation is not possible to retain the living standard that we do. But we also say there is a long-term consequence and that is workers who participate in strikes and learn from their own experience, their own power, their confidence in themselves, the strength of organisation, of course it leads them to an understanding that they are the creators of wealth, that they've got the strength and the power, when they stop working wealth ceases to be created. It's not the Directors, if you don't mind my saying so, that create the wealth, we can do without the Directors, if they go on a holiday the factory keeps on working, when the workers go on a holiday the facctory closes down.

Lord Robens: I do not believe and I say this now, that Communists can create strikes. It is the grievance that creates the material upon which a strike can be based and this is what the Communist boys who are very well trained, know exactly how to do.

Mr. Ramelson: We don't promote strikes. Strikes are endemic into the system, there is an irreconcilable conflict between workers and employers that can only be resolved on a basis of a balance of strength that exists at any particular moment.

Mr. Chapple: I mean Lenin says that no strike was ever lost. He said that strikes are won or there are draws but what they

always do is they get the workers into battle against society and that's the main purpose of the strike.

W. Wyatt: With the increase in strikes, there's come something new and alarming - violent picketing and intimidation.
(Film)

Voice: We'd gone over a motorway site which is very difficult to picket on the grounds that it has no gates and about eight hundred of us stormed this motorway site, picking on individuals who were working there, telling them they had to get off the site or there would be trouble and other incidents, especially in Birmingham, outside the cement works where things got very very rough, where drivers were being stoned, being pulled from their cabs. The Communist Party must have realised that there was physical violence going on because there was reports coming in from all over the place to Lou Lewis personally, every single day.

Mr. Lewis: I've no knowledge of any intimidation used by flying pickets.

W. Wyatt: I've got a dossier here which says you have.

Mr. Lewis: Well, then you may have a dossier that says we have, we've no record of that. If they call intimidation the fact that a busload of men are going to arrive on a building site and hold a meeting of workers and inform them that there's a strike in the industry, that they want them to join and in many cases workers have probably said they don't want to join, in which case we will place a picket on the gate. But if that is intimidation then it is within the law because the law says you're allowed to place pickets on a building site, as long as you only try to dissuade a worker from going to work.

Mr. Regan: I was witness to people getting roughed up, I was witness to people being shaken from scaffolding, I was witness to people being punched and kicked. One man got chased home and had to lock himself in with his wife and kids. Other people got hunted down in various towns.

Mr. Lewis: Well, if anybody's a record of me having done that, I'd like to know because, you know, it's fictitious. I mean we saw the "News of the World", they ran a big series and probably if the gentleman reporter from that is the gentleman concerned, I'd be amazed because I'd love to meet him face to face because the fact is that when reading the "News of the World" he was never near a building dispute because his facts are completely wrong.

Mr. Regan: I think the Communist Party and especially the leaders who were involved, were all Communists, were quite happy to turn a blind eye to these incidents.

Mr. Ramelson: Well, I don't accept there was violent picketing in that sense, of course you can never be sure what any individual might do, but what goes under the name of violent picketing usually turns out to be a provocation by the Police, now all you've got to remember is the famous picketing at the miners' strike at Saltley, the coke works. Now you provoke pickets when you show up with a thousand policemen in order to force a way through. Now you don't expect anything but difficulty develop when you create a mass confrontation of workers with a sort of battalion of police. By and large, I would say, pickets are not violent.

(Film)

Mr. Regan: In the beginning they were controlled by no-one, it was a selective strike by the union which gradually became taken over by the Communist Party orientated Action Committee,

which then more or less sort of told the union what to do, told the union to get out of it in a sense and from then onwards led the flying pickets on a day to day basis. The leaders of the flying pickets, I think, are too dedicated and professional to have worried about me or the article, but certainly there were a lot of people looking for me from building sites, certainly they came into my local pub and told the landlord that I should watch out because I'd very quickly be a cripple if they found me and even last night in fact someone came in from a site and said that the only reason he hadn't shot me through the legs was the fact that he knew my father.

W. Wyatt: The Communists don't have it all their own way on the ultra left, many of the younger generation think that the search for power has made them too stuffy and respectable.

Mr. Peter Gowan: The Communist Party is having great difficulty in recruiting young people. These tend to go to the more militant extremist organisations, in spite of the intense effort made by the Communist Party to recruit youth, they just can't get them.

Mr. Stuart Christie: I think that the orthodox Communist Party of Britain has on a whole number of central issues abandoned a Communist position, abandoned the really genuinely socialist revolutionary position and we think that that happened many years ago, starting off in Russia and since the thirties we've been building a movement which continues the traditions of the Russian revolution - Lenin and Trotsky - and that's why we're still in business today.

Mr. Ramelson: Basically the Communist Party today is, in our opinion, a left reformist Party, that is to say its policies

are not essentially different from those of the left-wing of the Labour Party and the Communist Party's main political aim is to push itself into the position of being a dominant influence on the left-wing of the Labour Party with the view of changing the nature of the Labour Party. We don't believe the Labour Party can be changed, we don't believe there's a Parliamentary road to socialism.

Mr. Gowan: Anarchy is necessary? Well, let's define the term, anarchy to me means a society based on co-operation and mutual aid, libertarian socialism. Its involvement in the class struggle in Britain, here in the Labour Movement in Britain is based on many facets - industrial, social, local, you know, the many community groups that are now springing up all over Britain.

Mr. David Basnett: We feel that the system that exists at the moment, capitalism has been long outmoded, that it's no longer able to meet the .. even the most immediate demands of the masses, this is why the ruling class at the moment see fit to introduce all sorts of anti-working-class policies.

Mr. Gowan: I don't like in public to haggle with anyone who claims to want to see socialism, my main fire is directed towards the enemy of the working-class, I don't see them as an enemy of the working-class, I don't think they necessarily help but I don't think they're the enemy of the working-class and my anger is not against anyone else but the ruling class.

Voice: My advice to the working-class, first advice to the working-class is to trust in their own experiences and not to trust in the type of 'shit' that gets fed every day in the schools, through the popular Press, from Mr. Heath, from the trade union bureaucracy and from people like yourself.

Voice: In a democratic society, organisations like this will exist and if our form of democracy cannot cope with them, then it's our democracy that is wrong.

Voice: I think there's very little danger from the ultra left-wing, they're not involved in the administrative machine of the trade union movement, they tend to be very much on the fringe.

Voice: The situation in Britain at the moment is that the mass of people do not support the international Marxist group and the Red Mao, that's very clear, but what we also think is that in order to get socialism it's not enough for the mass of people simply to decide who they're in favour of. They've also got to wage a struggle to overthrow the system which is at the moment oppressing them.

Mr. Chapple: Well, I don't think the way-out people are too much of a problem. First of all because they usually are so way-out that they get very little support and, secondly, they are usually more obvious than the Communists, people can spot them easier. Whereas the Communists for a long time now have got an air of respectability about them that a Trotskyist doesn't usually have and they're therefore a little more plausible.

Voice: Our influence is increasing in the trade union movement and will increase so long as the working-class is mobilised and organised against the attacks that they face.

W. Wyatt: Some of the ultra left-wing are not very keen on talking to the Press and T.V. about their ideas, but they are not backward in printing them for the incitement of the faithful. This is Colletts Bookshop in the Charing Cross Road, it's been famous for years for Russian and Communist

text-books. It was once called the 'Bomb Shop'. Most of the stuff is pretty routine in general and a bit dull, but in their small back room, you can find the source of the ultra left-wing.

This is the pamphlet room: standard pictures of Mao tse Tung, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, pictures of the People's Wall and so on. And here are some of the publications that enthusiasts can buy. 'Workers' fight - turn protest into general strike'. 'Militant - Mobilise for mass action on socialist programme'. 'The worker - workers against the law'. 'Socialist worker - don't wait, step up the fight'. 'Revolutionary analysis, strategy and tactics'. 'The Red Mo - Unite for strikes, spread the struggle'. 'Red Front for working-class power'. 'What is solidarity?' 'International socialism'. 'Students and the revolution'.

Deluged by the extravagant propaganda in that small back room is enough to make you think the revolution's going to start tomorrow.

Voice: I think that when I first joined the Party forty years ago, I thought it was going to happen next week and I've learned that things happen not in a uniform way like that and very often things happen which you don't expect.

Voice: Basic social chance, no displacement of one ruling-class by another has never occurred anywhere and certainly not in Britain except by means of revolution.

Voice: Of course it's impossible to get it without a revolution, I mean that goes without saying. Unless you overthrow the present system, then you can't have a new system...

Mr. Reid: of course is this, that this Government is forcing the trade union movement into a position of

confrontation and I don't think there's any government in this country can possibly survive a real confrontation with the trade union or working-class movement, because the powers of the working-class are so immense.

Voice: That's why people like Scanlon and Jones and Communists and others are winning the positions in the unions, because the working-class are beginning to see that the need for broad left activity to change the order of society.

Voice: We are going to organise massive general strikes to throw out those fellows who are doing that and we are going to start to determine the course of events in Britain and that will lead to a situation where the working-class will more and more move towards creating its own State power, organising its own organs of working-class power, working-class democracy, councils of action to lead that general strike to overthrow the Government.

Voice: I mean if a man really believes that the only protest is to overthrow society including the trade unions, as they exist and industry, and thinks that he will advance this by organising strikes or by inciting people to strike, or by helping to man picket lines, that is his democratic right.

Mr. Jacobsen: You know the story about Lenin in 1915, I've forgotten the name of the article, in which he gives a lecture to Swiss students saying that socialism is inevitable, the revolution will come, perhaps not in my lifetime, he says, actually he had three years to wait. Now I'm not suggesting that that is true in Britain, I don't know. One thing I do know that socialism is necessary, capitalism is not capable of solving the problems that confront ordinary people and it must, therefore, be destroyed.

Voice: I think history shows that you get more of a positive surge forward among work people when standards are

rising than when they're terribly depressed. I'm not so sure that dejected low-paid, very low-paid workers, in society, shown by history, are the first ones to take effective action. I think it's when the glass is rising that you get a rising expectation and hence you get the militancy that follows.

Mr. Reid: I take a bit of convincing, in fact repudiate entirely the concept that there's no longer a capitalist class, an employing class, a parasitical class in Britain, there certainly is and the sooner we get them off our backs, the sooner us workers will be able to stand up in our full human stature.

Lord Robens: The only way in which you can get trade unionists to attend to their business which in my opinion is vital to them, is to persuade them that it is important that they should take and play a full part in their own affairs.

W. Wyatt: It's the apathy and disinterest in union affairs of the average chap which lets them get the jobs and run the show. But it's not altogether the fault of the ordinary rank and file member, why should it be so difficult for him to vote in important elections in his union? Why should he have to go to branch meetings to have to do it? How does he know whether the elections are going to be straight or crooked? The Communists tricked their way into power in the E.T.U. and held it by cooking the votes. How can we stop extremists and Communists doing it in the future? How, for instance, are the E.T.U. preventing it now?

Mr. Chapple: We run our ballots now by first of all very careful updating of membership changes of addresses. We print these addresses out on our computer and they're sent

to the Electoral Reform Society who then send out the ballot papers, with them a return envelope so that anyone who fills in the ballot papers returns them not to us but to the Electoral Reform Society. The counting of the votes is most important and it's essential from anyone's standpoint that the people who are involved in the ballot are not involved in counting the votes.

Voice: We've already seen the effect of the postal ballot in the E.T.U., it has permitted a greater participation of the members in the voting for important positions on the Executive and for full-time office.

Voice: It may increase the numbers that are voting, but the problem then raised is freedom within such a system for someone to speak for and against someone who is standing for election in a trade union, because there is a danger that the body responsible for the election would perpetuate the character of the leadership that is responsible for their election.

Voice: Now in the A.E.U.W. the old electoral system where members have to attend branch meetings to vote, also gave the Communist Party a built-in advantage particularly with regard to national elections.

Voice: We've only been having postal ballots for about twelve months now, so it's very difficult to assess the position in such a short experience. But I would say that over the years, as our people become accustomed to having the responsibility of voting for their leaders, locally and nationally, I think that in itself may inspire them to become a little more interested in their union affairs, a little more knowledgeable, so that they will be voting not blindly, but intelligently.

Voice: The Communists are bitterly opposed to the postal

ballot and are trying to do everything in their power to bring it to an end.

Voice: Well, if you ask me personally I think it's a far better idea to have ballots at the branch where members can discuss candidates, their merits, demerits and cast their vote. I think that way you tend to get a position where people attend their branch, either a factory branch or a local branch in that way.

Mr. Chapple: I'm certain that given a genuine method of electing people where people had to ... those seeking election would have to state their political views, I'm absolutely certain that when someone put on the ballot paper that he was either a Trotskyist, believed in revolution, or a Communist and believed in revolution, that he wouldn't be elected.

Voice: It's always a risk electing Communists to union office because of the Party line and because he will put the Party before the interests of the members.

W. Wyatt: The Communists want power in the unions because of the political power it gives them. If they can control or influence the union they can get extremist resolutions put forward at the Labour Party Conference, they can influence members of the National Executive of the Labour Party.

Mr. Ramelson: What we say is this, that the Communist Party certainly has a considerable influence beyond its membership inside the trade union movement because workers have realised that the policy we advocate is in their interests and above all they realise from a daily experience that the Communists they do know fight in their interests. Therefore we say we have played a very important part in helping to bring about the swing in policies towards the left as far as the trade union

movement is concerned. It follows then that trade unionists who become politically conscious realise that in addition to trade unionists participating in an industrial and economic sphere, they're also affiliated to the Labour Party and, therefore, play a dominant part, or can play a dominant part in shaping the policies of the Labour Party and the tragedy in the past has been that the trade union movement which is the base of the Labour Party, was pursuing one policy and the Labour Government was trying to stab them in the back.

MR. Reid: I certainly do not believe that the Labour Party is permanently to be controlled by the right-wing in the Labour movement. I think that the class basis of the Labour Party will exert itself at some stage or other and compel, or bring about changes that provide a leadership that is consistent with the working-class base of the Labour Party. I think that that is almost, one could say, historically inevitable.

Mr. Chapple: The extremist policies that are being pursued will be influencing the Labour Party at all levels, I mean first of all Communists take part in political debates in their union branches, they often sponsor them and if they've got an M.P. or representatives on the Council, who are not pursuing the left policies that they would like pursued, they make sure the branch either does not contribute money towards the upkeep of those policies, or they harass them in the way I've suggested they harass officials of the unions, who don't do the things that they think they should be doing.

W. Wyatt: You were once Chairman of the Labour Party, do you think that the existence of vocal Communist and the militant minorities in the unions had an effect on Labour Party policy itself?

Voice: Oh yes, for the reasons I have already stated

I'm quite sure, because of the apathy of the masses, the vociferous minority have advanced a viewpoint.

Voice: Well, obviously I think that the influence of the Communist Party's opinions where they're expressed inside the factories at branches, do have an influence obviously, that's why we do it.

Lord Robens: If you look at the Parliamentary Labour Party, you can identify a very large number of Members of Parliament who in the earlier days before they were in Parliament, were associated with the Left, some of them who were members of the Communist Party, who left the Communist Party. But I never believe anybody who's left the Communist Party, there may be some, but I don't believe very many people that leave the Communist Party change their Marxist thinking.

Mr. Ramelson: The Communists are part and parcel of the British Labour Movement, they're affiliated members of the trade unions, the Labour Party accepts our affiliated money but deprives us of the democratic right of standing as a candidate and allow our fellow workers to decide whether they want us to represent them at a Labour Party Conference or anyone else. It is a negation of democracy that is practised by the Labour Party.

Voice: I don't think that the Communists should ever have been expelled from the Labour Party. If you remember they were expelled on the basis of, well, traitors to the Labour movement. Ramsay Macdonald, Snowdon, Thomas and the rest of them, who took measures to ban the Communists from the Labour Party. I think that the only reason I'm not in the Labour Party as well as the Communist Party is because they won't allow me to be.

Voice: When it is recognised that the Communist

Party is part of the Labour movement and that trade unions are allowed to nominate any one of their members to go before a Selection Conference, what's wrong with allowing a Selection Conference to have the democratic rights of choosing who should represent the Labour movement in Parliament - nothing at all.

Mr. Reid: Don't forget that almost every trade union movement has constitutionally its objective a Socialist Britain, at some stage or other the child of the trade union movement will correspond to the aspirations of the class that gave birth to it.

Voice: The Labour Party will not allow them to affiliate, the only way they can influence the Labour Party, which the bulk of British trade unionists upholds, and was built up by the trade union movement, is to take control of the trade union movement. By controlling the trade union movement they believe and very few would argue against it, that they will be taking control of the policy of the Labour Party and perhaps a future Labour Government.

Mr. Chapple: It doesn't matter if you don't very much care which system of society you live under, I suppose at the lowest level in society, people who live on very low wages at a very low standard, it couldn't make any difference to them whether they live under this system or under anybody else's, but for those of us, the majority of us, who enjoy a great amount of political, religious and economic freedom, I think it would matter a great deal.

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